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ABSTRACT

Many published histories of education and early childhood care omit African Americans' contributions. Many African American women chose careers in teaching and social work after the Civil War. Their leadership throughout the 20th century significantly impacted early care and education. Since its inception in 1868, Virginia's Hampton Institute played a crucial role in training African American women. Its journal, the "Southern Workman" (1881-1929), provides information on the historical contributions of African American educators. The journal's goal was to promote understanding and respect between the races, chronicling achievements of its programs and graduates. Many articles trace the development of early care and education programs and the field's emergence as a professional career path for African American women. These writings reveal that African American educators were important in working for desegregation and equal education for all Virginia children. This paper describes the rise of industrial education; industrial education and Hampton Institute's kindergarten curriculum; public kindergarten for African Americans; private early care and education for African Americans; Hampton Institute's child development laboratory school; the emergence of standards for early care and education in Virginia; and establishment of the Virginia Association for Early Childhood Education (an integrated advocacy group). (Contains 40 references.) (SM)

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THE *SOUTHERN WORKMAN*: A RESOURCE FOR DOCUMENTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF EARLY CARE AND EDUCATION IN VIRGINIA

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The *Southern Workman*: A Resource for Documenting the Development of Early Care and Education in Virginia

Most published histories of education and care for young children and their families have omitted or minimized the contributions of African Americans. This practice has implied a lack of significant participation in the education process. It has also created misconceptions related to the African American experience in education and has ignored a rich and complex heritage. From the end of the Civil War, teaching and social service work were primary career choices for African American women, and their leadership throughout the twentieth century had a major impact on shaping the pattern of early care and education in the United States (Cunningham and Osborn 1979).

The Southern Workman, Journal of Hampton Institute

From its inception in 1868, Hampton Institute (now Hampton University) played a crucial role in training

African American women, who became prominent in the field of early care and education. It also sponsored innovative programs for children and families in Virginia and throughout the South (Cunningham and Osborn 1979). The *Southern Workman,* which served as the journal of Hampton Institute from 1882 to 1939, provides a fertile primary source for documenting the historical contributions of African American educators (Phenix 1924). With the stated purpose of bringing about understanding and respect between the races, the *Southern Workman* chronicled the development of education programs at Hampton. In addition, it described the achievements of its graduates, the activities of important organizations, such as the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, the influence of religious and philanthropic contributions, such as the Anna T. Jeanes Fund, and the doctrine of leaders, such as Samuel Armstrong and Booker T. Washington ("The *Southern Workman*" 1927). Replete with photographs and detailed accounts of educational practices, the *Southern Workman* provides an extensive record of the dedicated service and leadership of African Americans in the areas of

health, welfare, family living, home economics, child development, and education.

Many articles in the *Southern Workman* trace the development of early care and education programs and the field's emergence as a proper professional career path for African American women. These writings reveal that African American educators played a strong role in working for desegregation and equal educational opportunities for all children in Virginia. The leadership of some of these individuals also contributed to the formation of the Virginia Association for Early Childhood Education in 1957, as an integrated professional organization. This association became the state affiliate of the National Association for the Education of Young Children. Formed at the height of massive resistance to integration, it was one of the earliest state level professional groups for early care and education to permit bi-racial cooperation (Ashelman 1984). Therefore, the role of African Americans in the development of early care and education in Virginia is important to document.

The Rise of Industrial Education

Hampton Institute was one of the earliest industrial schools in the South. Its first president, Samuel Armstrong, provided a strong voice for proponents of industrial education (Phenix 1924). Armstrong's views reached beyond the limits of Hampton Institute through the *Southern Workman*. Armstrong favored industrial education, as a means for inculcating the values and skills he deemed necessary for African Americans in the South, and his doctrine was couched in views of differential development between the races (Phenix 1908).

Some of Armstrong's comments concerning African Americans were not entirely flattering, but they reveal the thinking of the white community at that time. In one instance, Armstrong wrote, "They [the freemen] have no aspirations, or healthy ambitions; everything about them, their clothes, their houses, their lands, their fences all bear witness to their shiftless propensity" (1868 cited in Spivey 1978, p. 9). Industrial education and teacher training were advanced, as a means for resolving problems associated with racial issues, and for maintaining social and

economic order in the South. To accomplish Armstrong's purposes, an industrial education department, that included domestic arts and science, was established. Also, the Butler School for practice teaching opened in 1873 (Phenix 1924).

Booker T. Washington, a native of Franklin County, Virginia and a graduate of Hampton Institute, was perhaps the primary disciple and ideologist of the "Armstrong model" of industrial education. In a speech delivered at the National Education Association (NEA) convention in 1884, Washington expressed his concern for harmony between the races. He stressed that the African American's home was in the South, and the two predominant races there should coexist (1884 cited in Bullock 1967). Also, in an address in 1895, frequently referred to as the "Atlanta Compromise," Washington gave strong support for industrial training as the most important form of education for African Americans (1895 cited in Washington 1922).

The focus on industrial education, in the early 1900s in Virginia and throughout much of the South, signaled a period of retrenchment, particularly in the availability of academic education for African Americans.

By the 1930s, African American leaders, such as W.E.B. DuBois and Carter G. Woodson, faulted industrial schools for failing to build up a solid economic base, which would have contributed to greater self-sufficiency within the African American community (Aery 1936). At this time, African Americans, who were connected with Hampton Institute and other similar institutions, did not remain oblivious to negative opinions concerning industrial education. The October, 1936 issue of the *Southern Workman* warned of the dangers of industrial education, and stated that the "education of 'Little Black Sambo' was taking place in the 'dog house' down in the gully" (Aery 1936, p. 318).

In defense of the industrial educational program, offered at schools such as Hampton Institute, many African Americans in Virginia and throughout the South lived in a condition of destitution. Thus, a primary mission, if short sighted in its vision, was oriented toward improving the general standard of living for the African American population. A quote from an article, which appeared in the July, 1911 issue of the *Southern Workman*, captured the

essence of the goals of industrial training at Hampton. It read:

> The end and aim of the schooling is that [the students] shall go back to the state, the county, the town from which they come and teach others of their race the principles of sanitation, hygiene, and domestic science that they have learned in their...study (Church 1911, p. 403).

Numerous articles in the *Southern Workman*, which document the accomplishments of Hampton Institute's graduates, lend credence to the contention that this "each one teach one" philosophy was internalized by its alumni. It was also from these health and welfare aims, that many programs for young children and families were formed in Virginia.

Miss Virginia Randolph was one of the most outstanding practitioners of the "each one teach one" philosophy encouraged at Hampton Institute. Supported by the Virginia public school system and the Anna T. Jeanes Fund, Miss Randolph's program combined health, welfare, and educational outreach to rural children and families. The practices Miss Randolph advocated included gardening, woodworking, sewing, laundering, and cooking, for the

purpose of creating a genuine respect for work. Paid $40.00 a month and provided with a mule and a cart for travel, Miss Randolph emphasized using everyday items found in the home, such as bleached flour sacks and sugar bags for making simple articles of clothing, involving parents in their children's schooling, and securing the support of the community (Wright 1936). Miss Randolph's efforts led to the establishment of Willing Worker's Clubs throughout Virginia. Her model also served as a prototype for Jeanes Teachers, who worked throughout the South and the British Colonies in Africa (Mace 1932). The Anna T. Jeanes Fund was initially administered by Booker T. Washington and Howard B. Frissell, President of Hampton Institute. Therefore, the industrial training activities of Miss Randolph and the Jeanes Teachers were covered extensively by the *Southern Workman*. In recognition of her contributions, Miss Randolph received the William E. Harmon Award for Distinguished Service in 1926 (Brown 1927).

Industrial Education and the Kindergarten Curriculum at Hampton Institute

At Hampton Institute, industrial training for young children was emphasized, and a kitchen-garden was established in 1881, as a part of the domestic science program (Cunningham and Osborn 1979). Kitchen-gardens were initiated by Miss Emily Huntington of the Wilson Industrial School in New York City, and were designed to acquaint children of kindergarten age with household tasks. Miss Huntington's curriculum translated her concern for domestic training into a system "that substituted toy cups, brooms, and domestic utensils for the Froebelian gifts and occupations," which were popular in kindergartens during this period (Ross 1976, p. 57). Through object lessons, it was assumed that children five years old and younger would acquire virtues, such as cleanliness and order, and mothers would be indirectly influenced as their children learned about domestic responsibilities (Anderson 1929). The kitchen-garden's overriding purpose, therefore, was to help alleviate family problems associated with poverty conditions.

With the help of Miss Huntington, Miss Elizabeth Hyde established the kitchen-garden at Hampton Institute. During her thirty-seven-year tenure at the school, Miss Hyde served as principal of the Butler School, head of the academic department, and dean of women. A graduate of Framingham Normal School in Massachusetts, Miss Hyde came to Hampton with the purpose of "training...Negro girls for their great responsibility of home making" (Young 1929, p. 33). The kitchen-garden fit well with this cause. According to the *Southern Workman*, the kitchen-garden was "popular and progressive," and similar programs were established in Virginia, by graduates of Hampton's teacher training program (Ludlow 1906, p. 290).

Industrial education activities for young children at Hampton Institute were continued when the Whittier School kindergarten replaced the kitchen-garden in 1887 (Ludlow 1906). The manual focus of the kindergarten was supported by leaders, such as G. Stanley Hall of the budding child study movement, who believed that overuse of small muscles could be harmful to the development of young children. Based on the presumption that large

muscles needed the most exercise in the early childhood period, activities, such as woodworking and gardening, were substituted for Froebelian routines. A description of manual training at Hampton Institute, which appeared in the *Southern Workman* in March 1908, substantiates the contention that this mode of instruction was used in the early childhood period. The author stated that "The manual training of the kindergarten and first three grades includes clay, wood, and paper as mediums of expression...", and "Every pupil has a plot of land and devotes two periods a week to gardening,...planting, rotation, and harvesting of crops" (Jinks 1908, p. 227). The kindergarten, in the Whittier School, was one of the first programs of its kind in Virginia (Ludlow 1906). The importance accorded to the campus kindergarten at Hampton is reflected by an article in the *Southern Workman*, which stated that the "kindergarten provided instruction granted to but few children of the white race ("The opening of the Hampton School" 1906, p. 584).

Public Kindergartens for African Americans

At the time the Whittier kindergarten flourished, public kindergartens for African American children in Virginia were rare. In the early 1900s, African American leaders sought to extend kindergartens throughout the state. Anna Murray, an educator and a member of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, contributed to this cause. As an advocate in Washington, D.C., Murray is believed to have been the first person to obtain federal funds for direct assistance to a kindergarten program (Lerner, 1976). Through several influential articles in the *Southern Workman*, Anna Murray helped promote kindergartens for African Americans in Virginia. In an essay written in 1904, she revealed her aspirations for kindergartens, as a means for achieving social reform. She wrote:

> Let the education of the Negro child reach down rather than up. Let the kindergarten become the basis for all instruction, for it offers the only logically safe, sure, and natural means for the training of the individual and the re-creation and reproduction of the ideal life as it should exist in the home, the community, and the nation (Murray 1904, p. 233).

Anna Murray also advanced kindergartens as a means for promotion of racial cooperation. She stated, "Give us two generations of children trained [in kindergarten] and we shall change the present menacing aspect of the American race problem..., When a few superior and intelligent white and Negro women may meet upon this ground,...the solution of this problem will have begun aright" (p. 234).

The goal of mandatory kindergarten, elaborated by Anna Murray, took seventy years to reach fruition in Virginia. However, proponents such as Murray, helped bring the attention of several national associations to the social significance of kindergartens. In 1918, the National Education Association Conference (NEA) "devoted a whole session...to a discussion of Negro education," and a resolution recommending federal aid "for the public education for colored children in the South" was adopted by this association at that time ("Federal aid for Negro education" 1918, p. 164). Four years prior to this action, the National Kindergarten Association, in cooperation with the United States Bureau of Education, extended aid by sponsoring demonstration kindergartens in several southern

cities. The first, located in Chattanooga, Tennessee, opened in the spring of 1914 ("Notes and exchanges" 1914, p. 328). In September of that year, a second program was initiated in Richmond, Virginia. The *Southern Workman* carried the following press release concerning its establishment. It stated:

> KINDERGARTENS for colored children are being adopted in different parts of the South as one of the agencies for improving social conditions that have troubled two generations. Richmond, Va. has just opened an experimental kindergarten which has already created such interest among Negro parents and the school authorities that it is expected it will soon be made permanent...("What others say" 1914, p. 520)

The Richmond kindergarten did not become a lasting part of the Virginia public school system at that time. However, its temporary existence indicated initial support for federal funding for early education programs for African American children in Virginia.

Private Early Care and Education for African Americans

Although only a few public kindergartens dotted the Virginia map in the early 1900s, the majority established for both races were private. The dearth of literature about these establishments complicates attempts to summarize their characteristics. Therefore, accounts in the *Southern Workman* provide valuable insight into these types of programs. Many private kindergartens were established in churches, and their services often extended beyond the realm of education into the welfare domain. This was true of the kindergarten-day nursery program, located in the First Baptist Church, colored, of Norfolk, Virginia. The church was organized in 1800, and in 1879, a graduate of Hampton Institute became the first African American pastor. Under his guidance, the church evolved into an extensive social agency, providing the African American community with a library; a job placement service; a refuge for "colored unfortunate girls," which substituted for a Florence Crittendon Home; a church home; an institution for the elderly; certified milk for babies; free examinations

for mothers and prospective mothers; as well as a kindergarten and day nursery (Hall 1921, p. 117). The kindergarten accommodated thirty-five children, who engaged in indoor and outdoor play, as well as planned activities, such as songs and games. The day nursery served nine or more children. A description of the day nursery, which appeared in the *Southern Workman*, suggested that its basic purpose was both educational and custodial care for children of working mothers (Hall 1921).

Hampton Institute's Child Development Laboratory School

In the 1920s, the field of early care and education expanded beyond education and welfare aims to include child development programs. In 1929, as an outgrowth of domestic science, Hampton Institute added a home economics department and a child development laboratory school. Child development laboratory schools were relatively new, with their roots in the Midwest. Born of the idea that "if research could improve corn and hogs it could improve children," and supported through the

Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, child development became an integral part of home economics programs throughout the United States (Sears 1975, p. 19).

In commenting on the importance of the child development program and laboratory school at Hampton, its President noted in his Annual Report of 1932

> the renowned Aggery of Africa once said, 'Educate a man and you have educated an individual, educate a woman and you have educated a family.' In carrying out Hampton's principles of community service there is nothing more permanent and lasting in its effects than these courses...associated with home making (p. 256).

When considering two of Hampton's most distinguished home economics graduates, Dr. Flemmie Kittrell and Dr. Evangeline Ward, it is difficult to estimate how many children, families, and educators they reached during their careers. Dr. Kittrell was one of the first African Americans to receive her Ph.D. in Home Economics. Subsequently, she had a distinguished career at Howard University as Dean of Home Economics. She also was highly regarded for her national and international work on behalf of

children and families (Ottley, 1980). Dr. Ward was a professor at Temple University, and in 1974, she became the first African American President of the National Association for the Education of Young Children.

The Emergence of Standards for Early Care and Education in Virginia

In response to the rise of kindergartens, day nurseries, child development programs, and other early care arrangements, the Department of Public Welfare in Virginia issued formal child care licensing requirements in 1922 (James 1934). However, finances for appropriate enforcement were limited and training requirements for child care personnel were minimal. Articles related to regulation of child care and concern for the quality of its programs appeared by 1911 in the *Southern Workman*. In response to a state sponsored conference "devoted specifically to the problem of the colored child," a report in a 1919 issue of the *Southern Workman* stated:

> ...the child should receive at least as serious social consideration as that given to vegetables, horses, cows, and commercial enterprises...(Editorials 1919, p. 393).

This conference and subsequent meetings, sponsored by the Department of Public Welfare, were integrated.

In the early 1900s, women's clubs cooperated closely with the Department of Public Welfare, and they served as advocates for standards of high quality care and education of young children and families in Virginia. Throughout the state, women's clubs for whites and African Americans formed at approximately the same time. Women's clubs for whites achieved official unification in 1907, as the Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs (Northington 1958). This group endorsed public kindergartens, and in 1913 adopted the motto, "Service—the Debt of Education" (Northington 1958, p. 12). African Americans applied for membership in the Virginia Federation in 1908. Not inclined to break with the segregated practices that prevailed in the South, the Virginia Federation resisted pressures to integrate until the 1970s. In 1908, the Federation issued a formal announcement of its policy, which read:

> ...the women of Virginia feel very deeply that one thing American womanhood should stand for is the purity of our race –

> something that is only possible when there is absolute social segregation of the white and [N]egro races (Northington 1958, p. 250).

A day after this statement was delivered, a newspaper in Virginia ran an editorial that commented "...in their weakness they stood for the right as they saw it..." (1908 cited in Northington 1958, p. 251). Barred from membership in the Virginia Federation, African American women formed their own group, The State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, an affiliate of The National Association of Colored Women (NACW) in 1908.

The State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs grew from twenty-five clubs in the southeastern part of Virginia. Mrs. Laura Titus, a Hampton Institute graduate, was a major organizer (State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, 1908). Education and welfare of young children were stated as paramount concerns of this group. A child welfare section was maintained to address issues related to children from birth to six years of age. Every year the child welfare department had a "Baby Day," which helped impart information on infant care. Other departments of the Federation emphasized skills supportive

of the home, such as gardening, sewing, and cooking (Barrett 1912).

Frequently, meetings of the State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs were coordinated with other groups of similar purpose. At the Fifteenth Hampton Negro Conference, held in 1911, and attended by people throughout the South, one of the topics was "Women's Work for Community Betterment." In an address opening the session, Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, Secretary of the Conference, commented,

> ...I am coming more and more to believe that women are grasping, rather earlier than men, the real meaning of social work...we shall have the conference opened by a discussion of the work of the women (cited in Aery 1911, p. 503).

At this conference, Mrs. Harris Barrett, president of the State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs and a graduate of Hampton Institute, gave a report on the status of the organization's community service work. She praised the efforts of local groups, that had given $10 apiece to help build the Industrial School for Wayward Girls, an

institution which was later incorporated under the auspices of the State Department of Public Welfare (Aery 1911).

Through projects such as these, the State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs gained a favorable reputation for its work throughout the state. As a result, on February 6, 1918, a "Resolution Agreed To By the House and Senate" was issued by the Virginia General Assembly, which honored the State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs. A portion of this statement, carried in the *Southern Workman,* read: "the services and sacrifices on the part of these citizens [are] recognized and...this resolution expresses our appreciation of this work" ("Appreciation of Colored women" 1919, p. 315).

Although women's clubs in Virginia were not integrated, the State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs aligned with other groups on behalf of children. In 1921, the Southern White Women's Committee on Inter-racial Co-operation issued a joint statement with the State Federation. It was carried in the *Southern Workman,* and a portion of it read:

> We are persuaded that the conservation of the life and health of Negro children is of utmost importance to the community. We therefore urge that day nurseries and kindergartens be established in local communities for the protection, care, and training of children of Negro mothers who go out to work ("Inter-racial co-operation" 1921, p. 35).

Ten years later, six goals were elaborated at a conference held by the same group, and they were listed in a *Southern Workman* article, entitled, "Southern Women Against the Mob." Each goal addressed the issue of African American community improvement in Virginia and the rest of the South. These goals ranged from continued support of early care and education to "justice in the courts…with special emphasis [on] the suppression of lynching (Eleazer 1931, p. 128). Part one of the pledge beseeched state support for early care and education programs, which was not forthcoming until the 1970s. A major source of funding for children and families came from the federal level in the 1930s.

During the Depression, federal funds, from a variety of agencies, subsidized educational programs for young children. Emergency Nursery Schools, which began as part

of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) in 1933, were a central force in early care and education during this period (Heing 1978), and "They made the idea of group care of young children much more widely known, all over the country…" (Ginsberg 1978, p. 13). Extensive evidence of federal support for nursery schools appeared in the *Southern Workman* during the 1930s. Hampton Institute also raised funds to help support nursery schools in the immediate community. At that time, Arthur Howe, President of Hampton Institute, wrote that, "Nursery schools have become a necessity for thousands of women. These demand experts in child care" (Fisher 1935, p. 123). By the 1940s, training efforts in early care and education in Virginia increased in response to the growth of related programs. Attention to the quality of programs and early care and education led to the establishment of private professional organizations, nonbinding recommendations for standards set by the State Department of Education, and continued professional development efforts by the Department of Welfare and Institutions (formerly the Department of Public Welfare).

The Establishment of the Virginia Association for the Early Childhood Education: An Integrated Advocacy Group

The last issue of the *Southern Workman* was published in 1939. Although it was more difficult to document after this time, the leadership of African Americans continued to play a vital role in the field of early care and education. Under the guidance of Dr. Evangeline Ward, Hampton Institute established the first department of early childhood education in Virginia in 1954. This department's professors and some of its alumni were among the leaders who were instrumental in the formation of the Virginia Association for Early Childhood Education (VAECE) in 1957 (Ward 1974). As the state affiliate of the National Association for the Education of Young Children, the VAECE began as an integrated organization (Moncure and Moncure 1960; Miller 1976). Because the association emerged at the height of massive resistance and sit-ins in Virginia, this was particularly noteworthy. The involvement of Hampton Institute, the integrated policies of the Department of Welfare and Institutions, interracial cooperation in the formation of regional preschool

professional associations, and the dedication of the VAECE's early leaders contributed to a confluence of factors that supported integration, at a time when most of the state's white population openly expressed opposition to public mixing of the races.

As an integrated association, the VAECE has provided a strong voice for all children in Virginia. By uniting leaders of both races, the VAECE has served as a substantive legislative advocacy group, and has contributed to numerous professional development initiatives in the state. The VAECE also has provided a forum for developing leaders. As an example, Dr. Yvonne Miller, a VAECE member and a professor at Norfolk State University, announced her candidacy at the VAECE Annual Conference, and in 1984 she became the first African American woman elected to the Virginia General Assembly (Ashelman 1984).

Conclusion

Because much of the information that documents the contributions of African Americans to the development

of early care and education in Virginia is not easily accessible, the *Southern Workman* is an invaluable resource. In reflecting on the significance of the VAECE's emergence as an integrated advocacy group in the 1950s, it is possible to conclude that the *Southern Workman's* original goal of understanding and respect between the races was achieved in the field of early care and education. In addition, as the journal of Hampton Institute for fifty-seven years, the *Southern Workman's* text and photographs provide a vivid and powerful legacy, as well as a vital record of an important part of African American history.

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